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sions by a very large sum of money, and it was unquestionably a vast political object to be relieved from them.

This object was effected solely and entirely by the renunciation of these claims.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the head of the French government when this convention was negotiated, said, at St Helena, that 'the suppression of the second article of the convention put an end to the privileges which France possessed by the treaties of 1778, and annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace.'

Spain having, in 1804, sought to evade the obligation of certain claims for spoliations in her ports, on the ground that these were French acts, for which the United States had renounced indemnity (and in this pretension Spain was backed by France), Mr Madison wrote to Mr Pinkney thus. 'The claims again, from which France was released were *admitted by France*, and the release was *for a valuable consideration*, in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them.'

If something be not due to the claimants under this state of facts, the natural principles of right are illusory, and the provision of the constitution is worthless, which prescribes that 'private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.'

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ART. VIII.—*America; or a General Survey of the Political Situation of the several Powers of the Western Continent, with Conjectures on their future Prospects.* By A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, Author of 'Europe,' &c. Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1827.

THE appearance of this work has been expected with no inconsiderable degree of interest. It was generally supposed that a volume from the pen of the author of 'Europe,' whatever other qualities it might possess, could scarcely fail of being an ingenious and elegant production, and this expectation has been amply verified in the present instance. We believe that this work will be generally considered as a valuable accession to American literature, and it is by no means necessary in

order to appreciate its merits in this respect, to coincide in all the opinions and views which it contains.

The subject, which our author has selected, independent of his other weighty claims on our attention, is sufficient to recommend his remarks to a careful perusal. Our attachment to our country, as to all other objects, is in some degree proportioned to the frequency, with which she is presented to our thoughts ; and an able and elegant treatise on her condition and prospects, may contain much that is open to dispute, and yet be highly valuable to our fellow citizens, on account of the reflections which it suggests, and the feelings which it tends to cherish.

The style, in which this work is written, would alone warrant us in placing it as a mere literary production in the highest rank of English classics. It is a style equally free from the meretricious ornament so prevalent in our own country ; and from the colloquial roughness which distinguishes many of the ablest British authors of the present time. It affords a striking proof that vigorous thoughts lose nothing of their power, by being embodied in harmonious language, that a style by being easy does not cease to be energetic, that a lively imagination can utter all its conceptions, without violating the purest simplicity. To our author and to Washington Irving we are indebted for two of the most successful efforts, which have been made in the present century to revive the Attic elegance which distinguished the best writers of the days of Addison, mingled in the case of our author with much of the energy of a more modern school. It has been the fortune of these accomplished writers to acquire a high and extensive celebrity both at home and abroad, and we trust that the perusal of their works has not been wholly without its effect on the literary character of our country. Every candid mind must be convinced that whatever other causes may have impeded our progress in literature, a progress, which we have no disposition to exaggerate, it has been neither a deficiency of talent, nor a total want of the means of literary improvement. Both our author and Mr Irving are men born and educated in the United States, and we cannot forbear to speak of the former as one of the alumni of our venerable university, and to ask whether this is not one fact among many others, tending to place that institution in rather a different light, from that in which it has been sometimes represented.

The motives which led to the production of this work may be learned from a perusal of the following concluding remarks.

' It is time, however, to conclude these reflections. Notwithstanding the disclaims I have made of Utopian dreams and baseless theories of all kinds, I am aware that some persons (who would perhaps regret to see them realized) will charge even the most moderate anticipations, in which I have ventured to indulge, with exaggeration. I can only say that I have advanced no conjectures, without giving what I think good reasons for them ; and that if the latter can be refuted, I am quite prepared to abandon the former. Other persons perhaps may doubt the expediency of holding up these favorable pictures of our own institutions, and future prospects. Why nourish in this way, they may say, a national vanity already perhaps sufficiently exalted ? If we are really a favored and prosperous nation, let us rather thank God for it, and enjoy our blessings in silence, than excite the envy and malignity of other less fortunate communities, by empty boasting. If we occupy a high and commanding stand in the political system, let us not, by indiscreetly vaunting our strength and advantages, induce other governments to attempt to deprive us of them. In these remarks, there is some degree of force ; and I should regret to be considered, by competent judges as having passed the line of discretion in speaking of the political importance and future greatness of our union. But in order to appreciate fully the value of our liberty, it is absolutely necessary that we should, in the first place, correctly estimate the advantages for which we are indebted to it ; and in order to discharge our duties as a nation, we must know our precise position as such, in the system of which we form a part. On both these subjects there are various opinions. Some deny that our liberty has contributed at all to our progress in wealth and greatness. Others contend that we have nothing to do as a people with foreign relations. Both these doctrines are, in my opinion, of dangerous tendency, and I have endeavored, in the course of the preceding work, to prove their incorrectness. If I have represented the government as occupying a lofty station among the leading powers of the world, it has been with a view of impressing upon the minds of our rulers and of the nation, the deep responsibility under which they act, in consequence of the immense influence, which is necessarily attached to their position, and which they must exercise even in refusing to exercise it. If I have presented a flattering image of our present situation and future prospects, it has been for the purpose of showing more distinctly the inestimable worth of the political institutions which have made us what we are. Should one or both of these great

objects be in any way effected, I shall think myself, I will not say rewarded for the trouble of writing this work, which has been to me a pleasure, *labor ipse voluptas*, but fully satisfied with its success.' pp. 363, 364.

In pursuance of these views, the principal part of this work is devoted to the consideration of the condition and prospects of the United States, viewed as one member of the great family of civilized and christian nations, which occupies, with some slight exceptions, the whole of Europe and America. These nations are divided into three classes. 1. Those communities which are governed upon the *despotic system*. In this class are placed those of the abovementioned communities, which inhabit the continent of Europe and its dependencies. Of this class Russia is represented as the leading and ruling state, while France, Austria, Prussia, and the remaining nations of the continent, are considered as in a condition of virtual subjection to her immense military power, or to borrow our author's happy expression, as 'crushed beneath the giant mass of this political colossus.' 2. Great Britain is represented as constituting, together with her dependencies, a second class of powers. In our author's opinion these dependencies are destined, at no very distant period, to sever themselves from the mother country, and the connexion between them, as it is not founded on principles either of right or policy or permanent and lasting power, must be considered as accidental and transitory. Great Britain herself is described as in a state of transition from tyranny to freedom, as exhibiting the elements of despotism and liberty, in a condition of action and incessant warfare. 3. Our author's third class is composed of those nations, which live under free and popular governments, and comprises the republics of the Western Continent. At the head of these he places our own country, which 'enjoys the proud distinction of taking the lead in the great division composed of the various new nations that cover this continent, a lead, not assumed in arrogance and maintained by force, but resulting in the course of nature from priority of national existence, and secured by continual good offices done and to be done to our sister republics.' Russia, Great Britain, and the United States are therefore, according to our author, now the three prominent and first rate powers of the civilized and christian world, and all the rest stand at present in an order secondary to one or the other of these. These are the views

laid down in our author's first chapter, which also contains some spirited remarks respecting the comparative effect of despotic, free, and mixed governments respectively.

We are prevented from quoting these remarks by their length, but shall have frequent occasion to refer to them in the course of our observations, and shall only observe, in passing, that in his picture of the situation of free and republican countries, our author has asserted respecting all the republics existing 'throughout America,' (see p. 21.) what in our humble opinion can be truly predicated in its full extent of the United States alone.

Having thus stated in his first chapter his leading opinions, our author devotes the remainder of his work to illustrating and enforcing them. We shall merely offer to our readers such cursory remarks, as have suggested themselves to us, on the perusal of his arguments. The superiority of Russia not only to any other power in Europe, but to all the powers of the European continent united, seems to be a favorite position of our author. It was maintained at some length in a former work, and is repeatedly brought forward in the present. We must beg leave now, as on a former occasion, to express a different opinion. We look in vain for proofs of this amazing preponderance. The power of Russia, great as it unquestionably is, seems to us far from sufficient to enable her to direct at will the movements of France, of Austria, or even of Prussia, still less to overcome their united forces. The memorable defeat of Napoleon in 1812 (a defeat in which the rigors of a Russian winter had, at least, *some* agency) may prove that Russia is impregnable to foreign invasion, but it proves nothing else. Who supposes that Alexander could have reached Paris in 1814, unaided by his allies? and who doubts that if the emperor of Russia should now attempt to repay the hostile visit of Napoleon, his discomfiture would be equally certain and signal? Indeed we cannot readily conceive, how France, lately the mistress of Europe, can be considered as a mere secondary power, either to Russia, or to any other nation in the world. France contains within the compass of less than two hundred thousand square miles, upwards of thirty millions of inhabitants. Her population is perfectly homogeneous in its character, more enlightened than that of any other country, with the exception of Great Britain and the United States, and distinguished by frugality, industry, courage, and patriotism.

She is no less remarkable for her physical advantages, than for the magnitude and character of her population. The mildness of her climate enables her to devote large regions to the cultivation of the vine and olive, which would be absolutely sterile under a colder sky, and scarcely any country of equal size contains so small an extent of unproductive soil. She has already risen as if by magic from the state of extreme exhaustion, to which she was reduced in 1815, to a high degree of prosperity ; she is rapidly throwing off the burden of her public debt, and providing for the increase of her navy and her fortifications, with a liberality from which freer and more favored nations, might derive a useful lesson. A nation thus circumstanced has nothing to fear from the aggressions of any continental power. It is in her foreign possessions and on the ocean only, that she is vulnerable.

These remarks are made simply from a regard for what seems to us to be the literal truth. We are no advocates for the late policy of the French government. The invasion of Spain was a measure, which can have excited only one feeling in the minds of all lovers of liberty or justice. The doctrine that the subject can derive no rights or immunities from any source but the liberality of the throne, that the king and not the people is the fountain of all rightful power, is one which we presume needs no comment.

But we are none of those, who think it necessary to disguise their opinions, lest they should be suspected of desiring what they believe. The power and resources of France are one thing ; the justice of her measures, the liberality of her rulers, and the freedom and happiness of her subjects, another. Believing, as we do, that she has nothing to fear from the force of Russia, we cannot admit the correctness of our author's assertion, at least in its full sense, that in overthrowing the Spanish constitution 'she acted under the influence, one might almost say under the compulsion, of that power ;' nor can we allow that this triumph of bigotry and injustice over knowledge and liberty, deplorable as it was, warrants us in renouncing all expectation of any immediate improvement in the political condition of the nations of continental Europe. On the contrary, no future event seems to us more probable than the eventual progress of free principles and free institutions throughout those communities. To what degree, and in what mode, the systems of government now existing in these countries can be exchang-

ed for those of a more popular character ; what abuses can be at once extirpated and what must be corrected by a more gradual process ; what degree of liberty can now be borne by nations, which have been long buried in ignorance, and how speedily they can be fitted for a higher state of political existence ; these are questions for those more immediately concerned, and not for us to settle. But the late efforts of the patriots of Spain to erect a constitutional monarchy, though frustrated by the united force of foreign arms and domestic treachery ; the establishment of a representative branch of government, and of the trial by jury in France ; the late signal defeats, experienced by the ministry of that country in their attempts to establish the law of primogeniture, and to restrain the liberty of the press ; the freedom with which political discussions have been carried on in the very centre of Europe ; and above all, the glorious struggle of the Greeks ; these and many facts of similar import constantly passing before our eyes in the European world, are unequivocal indications, that the progress of political light and knowledge throughout Christendom can no longer be permanently arrested by any human agency ;

‘and yon grey lines  
That fret the East are messengers of day.’

Great Britain is represented by our author, as we have already remarked, as in a state of transition, from a despotic to a popular government. ‘We find,’ says he ‘institutions existing together, which suppose the truth of directly opposite principles, and which, if they retain any real force, must lead of necessity to continual collision. A king, reigning by the grace of God, and a parliament, claiming and exercising the right of deposing him at pleasure ; an established church, with universal liberty of conscience and worship ; equality of rights, and hereditary privileges ; boundless prodigality in the public expenses, with a strict accountableness of all the agents ; with a thousand other incongruities of the same description.’ There is certainly much truth in this spirited picture, but it ought not to be forgotten that the British constitution, composed as it is of various and apparently discordant materials, may, after all, be in most respects better adapted than any which can be devised, to *things as they are*. Nothing can be better said on this subject than the following remarks of our author, in his chapter upon South America.

' In the United States, we hold nearly two millions of blacks in domestic slavery, while our senate chambers are daily echoing with our fervent protestations of zeal and affection for freedom under every color and aspect! And reason good, for it is one thing to love liberty, and another to love desolation, slaughter, and universal uproar, which would be the consequence of a simultaneous and general emancipation of the blacks. Any measure, therefore, and most of all a measure so momentous as the establishment of a new constitution of government, is not necessarily politic and expedient, merely because it is favorable to *liberty*, that is to the absence of restraint upon individuals. The absence of restraint in itself is a good thing, but the absence of all restraint would be, in other words, the absence of all government, and would of course afford no basis for any institutions. Restraint to a certain extent is everywhere necessary, and the degree to which it might be admitted, must be determined, as I have stated above, by considering not merely abstract notions and foreign examples, but also the state and condition of the people. The institutions which may be recommended by the former, can only be established with safety as far as they are also consistent with the latter. Any attempt to introduce others, however beautiful in theory, and however beneficial elsewhere, is dangerous. To say that it will certainly be ruinous or greatly injurious to the nation that makes it, would be going too far; because we know that Providence often modifies the working of general causes, so as to bring good out of evil. Dangerous and imprudent such attempts certainly are, and it is the practice of men and nations, who pretend to wisdom, before they invoke the special intervention of Providence, to exercise, in the first instance, with the greatest possible effect, the power and means, which the same Providence, operating through the general laws of nature, has placed at their disposal. pp. 190, 191.

We do not therefore look for the establishment of a republican government in Great Britain, and it belongs not to us to say whether under present circumstances, such a measure would be desirable. The popular cause in that country has sometimes been supported in a mode far different from the calm and dignified course, which was pursued by the people of this country in the establishment of our own constitution, and by men of a far other character than those who composed the Congress of 1776, and the Convention of 1787. But though we expect no *radical* change, in any sense of the word, in the constitution of Great Britain, there is much in her present system of government, which many of her wise and good

men are laboring, we trust not in vain, to extirpate. The change of public opinion in the course of half a century with respect to the slave trade is of itself a sufficient proof of how much can be effected for the cause of truth in a country, where the press is unshackled. In the early part of the reign of George the Third, the royal authority was repeatedly exerted to invalidate acts passed by our colonial legislatures for the prevention of that traffic. We scarcely need mention in what light the slave trade is now regarded. This most signal triumph of the persevering efforts of the friends of justice and humanity, is, we confidentially believe, not destined to stand alone. It argues, we think, no very sanguine temperament, to believe that the Unitarians in Great Britain will not long be debarred from the rights of freemen, that the Catholics will soon experience at least a mitigation of their present Egyptian bondage, and that the *necessity* of employing seamen without paying them an adequate compensation for their services will not always be held a sufficient justification for the most arbitrary violation of equal rights and personal liberty.

The views of our author respecting the political prospects of the South American republics, seem less sanguine than those entertained by many of our fellow citizens. ‘It appears,’ he observes immediately at the close of those remarks in his fifth chapter, which we have quoted in another connexion, ‘rather a doubtful point whether the establishment in Spanish America, of governments as popular as that of the United States was a measure recommended by the character and condition of the people, and of course whether these governments are likely to be equally durable and successful with ours.’ He afterwards observes, however, with great justice, that no foreigner probably possesses the information respecting the political situation of those immense regions, which would justify even a suggestion of the nature of the institutions that would suit them best. But though he declines pronouncing any positive opinion on the course pursued by the newly emancipated communities of South America, in the establishment of their respective constitutions, his chapter on this subject is highly interesting. It is written throughout with great ability, and throws much light, not only on the nature of the South American revolution, but on that of our own, and with the exception of the remarks on the subject of religion, we think will approve itself to every candid mind, for sound as well as

ingenious reasoning on the science of government. We recommend the whole of this chapter to the attentive perusal of our readers, and cannot forbear extracting from it the passage relating to Bolivar, particularly on account of the excellent remarks with which it closes. We trust that they will not be without their effect in repressing that prostitution of great names, now so fashionable among political writers.

The same remarks may be made upon the respective pretensions of Bolivar and Washington. The attempt to compare them is wholly premature. Bolivar is still in the midst of his career; and although I have no disposition whatever to cherish the doubts respecting his future conduct, which the enemies of liberty affect to entertain; although I feel the fullest confidence that he will justify the hopes of the world, and terminate as he has commenced, the glorious mission which has been allotted to him, it is nevertheless too early to award the prize before the race is run. Long as he has labored in the cause of his countrymen, and much as he has done for them, he has one thing left to do, more difficult, if we may judge at least by its rarity, than all the rest; and without which all the rest will go for nothing and worse than nothing. He has yet to show, that he knows the difference between true and false greatness, that is, between true greatness and a hoop of gold or a wooden seat covered with velvet. After subduing hostile enemies, he has yet to subdue (if he is unfortunate enough to feel them) the impulses of irregular ambition; and this is the achievement which Cicero, in his splendid but unhappily wholly unmerited encomium on Cæsar, declares to be the one which raises a man as it were above the level of humanity. The enemies of liberty in Europe, who judge of others by the consciousness they have of their own base and sordid sentiments, generally laugh at the idea that Bolivar will ever resign his truncheon and descend to private life. For my part I see no reason whatever to suspect him. His whole conduct, as far as I am acquainted with it, has been patriotic and disinterested, and affords the happiest prognostics of his future course of life. When he shall have justified, as I have no doubt he will, these high expectations, we shall be able to pronounce a favorable opinion on his general character, and to class him with the few great commanders in free states, who have been at the same time heroes and friends of their country. Even then, however, before we can compare him with Washington, he must have rendered the most important services to his fellow citizens in the foundation and administration of their civil institutions, must have rescued them from monarchy, as he had redeemed them before from foreign bondage, must have held out to them the

graceful and edifying example of a private life corresponding in dignity and purity with the glory of his public career, and finally must have brought his earthly course to an honorable end. Death, says Burke, canonizes a great character, and we may add death only ; because nothing else can give us complete assurance, that the greatness we admire will be kept up without failure or fault to the last. To accomplish all this may not be so easy as Mr De Pradt, whose pen sometimes outruns his judgment, perhaps imagines. All this, however, must be done, before Bolivar can claim the honor of being a worthy and successful student in the school of Washington. Greater honor than this he need not wish, and can never under any circumstances aspire to. To place him at present above his illustrious master, is merely an idle exaggeration, and argues a very inadequate conception of the characters of both. In general the world and even his own countrymen have been somewhat too prone to raise up rivals and equals to our incomparable hero. Bonaparte was at one time the Washington of France ; Iturbide in his day was a Washington. Riego and Quiroga rose in a few months from the rank of lieutenants to be the Washingtons of Spain. The name of the father of his country is too honorable a title to be lavished upon every bold adventurer, even in a cause apparently just. The world had been created nearly six thousand years, before the appearance of the first or rather the unique Washington, and it would be singular if half a dozen more should spring up like mushrooms within twenty years of his death. I would not be understood, however, to confound the name of Bolivar with those of the other pretenders to distinction, whom I have just mentioned. Should the close of his career correspond with its commencement, he will no doubt stand more nearly on a parallel with Washington, than any other character recorded in history.' pp. 181—183.

The remarks on religion, to which we have alluded, extend from page 194 to page 203. The following is the introductory paragraph.

'Without, however, pretending even to suggest an opinion as to what forms of government would be most suitable to the condition of Spanish America, much less to speak with decision on this subject, it is not very difficult to perceive that there was one important element of political power, at their disposal, which did not exist at least to the same extent and in the same shape with us, which they have certainly not entirely neglected, but of which they might perhaps have taken greater advantage than they have done, in forming their institutions—I mean *religion*. It has been made by some an objection to the constitution of these new states, that they have adopted an established religion, and that

in some of them the exercise of any other is prohibited under severe penalties. This latter clause is undoubtedly injudicious, at variance with policy as well as common humanity, and directly detrimental to the purpose which it is meant to promote. But as respects the former, instead of blaming the Spanish Americans for having done too much, I should rather be disposed to think that they had done too little; and that the religious establishment, which they did not create, but found already existing in full vigor, deeply seated in the faith, affection, and habits of the people, might have been employed, with great propriety and utility, as the mainspring and principal basis of the new political institutions. It does not belong to my purpose to state in detail what would have been in this case the modes of legislation and administration, or the names and functions of the principal magistrates. These are matters comparatively unimportant in all governments. But on this supposition, the great rule of assuming the existing state of things as the basis of the new fabric would have been observed, and at the same time an element of power been brought into action, not inferior perhaps in beneficial potency to any other, and amply competent to keep in motion the machinery of any constitution.' pp. 194, 195.

Every reader in this country will agree that our author has not employed too strong terms of censure, to say the least, in speaking of the prohibition of the exercise of any but the Catholic religion, which we believe exists in most of the republics of South America. That such a clause could be introduced into the constitution of any state professing to be free, is a most strange phenomenon in political history, and is more calculated than all other circumstances put together, to excite fearful apprehensions for the future success of rational liberty in South America. The spirit which could dictate such a provision is not that which animated those sages and heroes of our own country, for whom the nations of South America profess, we doubt not sincerely, so deep a veneration. It is possible, however, that the number of Protestants in these nations may be so inconsiderable, that this prohibition, however absurd and unjustifiable, however inconsistent with the principles on which these governments are avowedly founded, may produce but little practical evil. But should the fact be otherwise, should there be a large body of citizens in the South American republics debarred by legislative enactments from exercising what has ever been considered by all reasonable men, as one of the clearest and most inalienable rights of every human being, the right of worshipping God according to the

dictates of his own conscience, the continuation of such tyrannical provisions must, and we hesitate not to say it ought to diminish, in no inconsiderable degree, the claims of those republics to the sympathy and respect of all free and enlightened nations.

The mere establishment of a national church is a measure certainly less objectionable than that of which we have just spoken, but differing from it more in degree than in quality. We believe that public sentiment in this country is directly at variance with our author's opinion on this subject, that the South American nations, in adopting an established religion, 'have done too little rather than too much.'

We have yet to learn with what justice or consistency the tenets of a certain specified sect can be made an indispensable passport to the honors of a republican country, or how they can be rightfully supported and diffused at the expense of Christians of other denominations. Our belief in the doctrine of the necessity of separating the church from the state is too firmly established to be overthrown by our author's reasoning, ingenious as it is; and we cannot agree with him, that such a separation does not exist in our own country. The sovereignty of church and state, says he, is united in the people. But whether (admitting the entire correctness of this position) this sovereignty can be exercised, in the opinion of the people of the United States, with equal propriety in both cases, is a question, upon which some light is thrown by the fact, that in the very instrument by which they established a civil government for the union, it is declared that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' As little can we agree with our author in the remark, that our laws have hitherto wanted the advantages of a direct religious sanction. We suppose that men of every religious sect in our country assent to the correctness of the rule, that it is the religious duty of every citizen to obey all laws duly enacted by the government, under which he lives, or in the language of Scripture, 'to submit himself to every ordinance of men, for the Lord's sake'; and what other sanction could be given to our laws by any church or priesthood of human establishment, we are utterly at a loss to know;

'*Scimus, et hoc nobis non altius inseret Hammon.*'

We are told that 'religion should have been made by the lawgivers of the South, the principle in forming their political

creations, in the same way that liberty was with us.' (p. 201.) We cannot conceive in what way such a course could have been pursued without the establishment of a national church ; but as we do not quite understand the suggestion, we shall hazard no farther remarks upon it.

The greater part of this work is devoted, as we have before observed, to the consideration of the condition and prospects of our own country.

With respect to our external policy, we cannot perceive that our author recommends any material variation from the course hitherto pursued by our government, of avoiding, as far as possible, any entangling connexion with foreign nations. It is truly said that a complete abstinence from all intercourse with other countries is a plan which would be highly impolitic if practicable, and which has never been avowed or defended by any one. It must be equally considered, however, as one of the greatest benefits of our local situation, that we are almost entirely exempted from the necessity of interfering in the contentions of other states, in order to protect ourselves from unjust aggression, and that consequently such a necessity can rarely be made a pretext by ambitious and unprincipled statesmen, for engaging in war for purposes of mere aggrandizement. *The balance of power*, a phrase of magical efficacy elsewhere, is little else than an empty sound to us. The only instance in which the government of our country has manifested a strong interest in the internal policy of other nations, is in their conduct towards the newly formed republics of South America. What will be the nature of our connexion with those communities, it is now impossible to say. We may safely predict, however, that it will not be of a kind to put our neutrality in unnecessary jeopardy.

The internal policy of our country is the subject of the author's fourth chapter. The greater part of this chapter is taken up with the consideration of the necessity of encouraging our manufactures. Our author combats, with great ability, the opinion, that manufacturing establishments are necessarily prejudicial to morals. The truth, we conceive to be, that in manufactories, where a number of individuals of both sexes are collected together, it is difficult to preserve a medium between great regularity and gross disorder. We have little doubt that most of those establishments in this country are distinguished by the former of these qualities.

To what degree our manufactures should be protected by our imposts is a question, on which we shall not enter. That some protection should be afforded, is a principle, which we consider as settled in the minds of a great majority of our countrymen, and which has been avowed and adopted by our government ever since the days of Hamilton. We find that the tariff of 1824 was opposed by Mr Webster, and many of its ablest adversaries, not on the abstract principle that manufactures should be left to themselves, but on the ground, that, admitting the reverse of this principle to be true, the bill itself was injudicious and unreasonable. Hence all questions, which can arise in Congress on the encouragement of manufactures, will, probably, be viewed as questions of *more or less*, and whether a tariff shall be passed or not must depend almost wholly on its details.

Our author's principal aim, in his remarks on this country, seems to be rather to present a picture of her future progress, than to describe her actual condition, or to suggest any precise course of foreign or domestic policy. We cannot feel perfectly confident of the complete fulfilment of his splendid anticipations, though we assure him it is for any other reason, than because we should regret to see them verified. But we trust it argues no despair of our republic, still less any indifference to her welfare, to look on the speculations of the ablest men with some degree of diffidence. If the political events of the last twenty years have impressed any lesson on our minds, it is the truth of the utter uncertainty of all political anticipations. What will be the precise rank of our country among the nations of the earth in power and wealth we consider only a secondary question. It is enough for us, that though not the greatest, we are the happiest of nations, and that our happiness is as secure as the lot of humanity will permit, from every one but ourselves.

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ART. IX.—1. *Almack's.* A Novel. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

2. *Vivian Grey.* Part I. and Part II. 3 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. 1827.

THIS is, emphatically, the age of novel writing; and as such will be undoubtedly characterized in the annals of English